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Muhammad Ali

HIS LIFE AND SERVICES
— TO HIS COUNTRY —

FOREWORD
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword	i
Life Sketch	1
In England	7
State Service	9
Literary Activities	11
The Comrade and its aims... ...	14
Muslim League	21
The Muslim University	25
The Hamdard and its aims ...	29
The Cawnpore Mosque Affair ...	32
The All-India Medical Mission ...	41
Delhi Affairs	44
His Iconoclasm	46
Hindu-Muslim Entente	48
The National Education	50
As a Pan-Islamist	55
As a Speaker	65
As a Journalist	67
As a Poet	69
Turkey and England	72
Forfeiture of Security	84
His Internment	88
The Guilt	93
Speeches—	
Islam and its prospects	111
Fatalism of the East and West ...	124
Moslems in London	129

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FOREWORD

Carlyle, whilst delineating the 'Hero as Prophet' and demonstrating that sincerity in all senses was the merit of the Koran, avers that the main characteristic of the Prophet Mahomed was his total freedom from cant, and proceeds to describe the Arabs as a stern yet deep-hearted race of men. There is, generally speaking, in the Muslim temperament and culture something that is active and yet meditative and a capacity for wide and strong feelings combined with iron restraint over them. What is most attractive about the best specimens of that culture is a juxtaposition of grace and brilliance with a tremendous and deadly earnestness. Mohamed Ali is an instance in point of this somewhat paradoxical combination of qualities. A man of varied learning, a fine and effective speaker, and a wielder of a style which can be delicate as well as trenchant, above all, an idealist who strove to revivify Muhammadan public life and breathe reality into its political activities, Mohamed Ali will always be counted as one of

the creators of the new Islamic spirit in India. The self-sacrifice of the man was an integral part of his equipment. He abandoned lucrative careers in two Indian States because the call came to him to educate his country-men in "the new path." Sir Syed Ahmed, with all his wonderful educational work, nevertheless belongs to an age which has passed away. The vision of a United India is a vision more truly of our day. Even when Mohamed Ali battled against what he conceived to be Hindu pretensions, even when he strove to advocate Muslim claims and to keep alive Muslim individuality, there was always at the back of his mind the vision of that one-ness of political and social aim and purpose whose vindication alone will enable India to come to her own heritage. There were many who worked to transform the Muslim League and make it an adequate exponent of progressive Muhammadan ideas. There were many who contributed towards that comradeship and co-operation between the two great sister communities of India which in spite of interested and ignorant opposition resulted in the Lucknow entente between the Congress and the League and culminated

during the sessions of the Special Congress this year at Bombay in the joint deliberations of the Subjects Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. But amongst them all the name of Mohamed Ali stands out as the most strenuous as it was also one of the most sincere. Much has been said and more hinted about his pan-Islamic tendencies; but those who have known Mohamed Ali only by his published utterances and his political work remain unconvinced that one of the strongest advocates of Indian Unity and a strong upholder of the Imperial Connection deserved the fate to which he has been condemned. If there be anything deserving of condemnation in the actions of such men the only safe course is to publish the evidence against them. In the absence of such publication the Indian public, cognisant of the ways of the Police and aware of the transparency of Mohamed Ali's motives, remains sceptical towards official assertion.

The object of his journal "The Comrade" was stated to be 'to bring about a better understanding between the contending elements of the body-politic of India.' He was one of

those, moreover, who felt that the line of demarcation between the rulers and the ruled should disappear and that the Opposition should be as responsible as the Government. Whether he conducted a debate with Mr. Gokhale or sketched the latter-day tendencies in his "Thoughts on the Present Discontent," whether he helped in the synthesis of effort tending to the establishment of the Muhammadan University or took a part in the matter of the Cawnpore mosque or the Turkish medical mission, throughout his public career as Editor of the "Comrade" and as a politician the central motives of his life and work were a burning sense of Nationality coupled with a desire at the same time to preserve and maintain the essentials of the Islamic spirit.

MADRAS,
September 20, 1918. } C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

Shakaut Ali & Mahomed Ali.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

MUHAMMAD ALI

THE INTERNED MOHAMEDAN PATRIOT

. . . . *that which we are, we are:*
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

—Tennyson.

Every step in the history of the world has been made in the face of opposition and difficulty, and been "achieved and secured by men of intrepidity and valour," by leaders in the van-guard of thought, by great discoverers, great patriots and great workers in all walks of life. Such men stand out in solitary independence of the society, in the midst of which they live. Such men seem to contribute

new element to social progress, and to leave the world the better from what they found it. Such men have been the standard-bearers of truth. They rise triumphant through mire and mud, with bruises on their faces, still holding the banner of truth unsullied. To write the biographies of such men "who bestride the world like Colossus," is a hazardous task, full of many pitfalls for an average writer. The task as such becomes doubly difficult when a biography of a living personality is to be written. Every age has its own difficulties in the appreciation of its hero. The age in which a great personage lives, is too near to him to see him truly. If I have undertaken to write the biography of Muhammad Ali, it is with an earnest desire to place before the public a *brief* sketch of the Patriot who is sacrificing his best at the altar of our Faith and Motherland. I would fain have shifted this task to an abler hand, capable of doing *full* justice to it. However, the responsibility of writing a pamphlet as such is great, and the resources at my disposal are scanty and meagre. If I come forward to undertake such a presumptuous task, it is on account of the insistent demand of the publishers on me. "My errors, if any,

are my own. My reputation alone is to answer for them."

Muhammad Ali's paternal ancestors were originally the residents of Moradabad. His grand-father, Khan-i-Saman Ali Bakhsh Khan, who was a man of means, succeeded in securing a decent post in the Rampur service under the then Heir-Apparent Yusuf Ali Khan Bahadur, who afterwards became the Nawab of Rampur, and was the great grand-father of the present ruler of the state. "He began as the Comptroller of the Prince's Household, and so faithfully and well did he serve his master that when the Prince became the Nawab, Ali Bakhsh Khan rose to a position in the administration of the State in which he was described in British official documents during the mutiny as 'the right-hand man' of his illustrious master. In those searching times of trouble he did immense service to the state, and on behalf of his master he saved the English in Rohilkhand and Kumaon, and supplied them with all they needed, when in Naini Tal and Almora, where they had been practically hemmed in by the insurgents. In recognition of the sorely-needed assistance then rendered so gallantly and liberally by the State, the Nawab

received from the British Government additional territory, and the Khan-i-Saman was awarded the grant of a large rent-free Jagir in the Moradabad district. His generous master also rewarded him amply for these and other services, and his successor, the widely known Nawab Kalb-i-Ali Khan Bahadur continued the same marks of royal favour with marked liberality." The uncles of the interned Brothers, too, held responsible posts in the army of the state. Muhammad Ali's father Abdul Ali Khan also held honorable posts in the army and the civil administration of the State and was held in esteem and respect by all the high officials of his time. "This connection of the family with the State has been maintained to this day. It continues to furnish loyal and trusted servants to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and lives up to its motto: "True to Salt."

It is a pity that Muhammad Ali's father died suddenly of cholera in the prime of life at the age of 33 in August, 1880, and thus the care of the six children naturally devolved upon his widow who was then 27. Muhammad Ali was not yet two years old and Shaukat Ali was not much more than 7. The mother of the Ali

Brothers is indeed a marvellous woman, for it was through her efforts that Zulfikar Ali and Shaukat Ali were first sent to a school at Bareilli in 1889 and eventually to the M. A. O. Collegiate School and College, Aligarh, in June, 1890, to receive the then much-denounced English education. Now it is quite difficult for us who live in changed times, to gauge the depth of those prejudices which the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had to face throughout his life, and which have hitherto exercised a very baneful influence on the community. The prejudices were very deep-rooted then, but this lady, inspite of them and the opposition she received at the hands of her relatives, proved equal to the task. Oh, she had to fight out a battle against heavy odds, which she did *pugnio et calcibus*! Being directly descended from a line of soldier-statesmen of the Mughal empire of whom perhaps Nawab Darvesh Ali Khan, a minister of the Great Mughal, and a Panj-Hazari or officer of the rank of Five-Thousand, was the most renowned for his wisdom, courage, faithfulness and liberality. She has thus inherited from her great ancestors her self-reliance, her scorn of danger and her ability to face difficulties,

however overwhelming, with a clear and a steady gaze. Very few mothers have taken so great pains at educating their children as this lady did, for she used to go direct to Aligarh in order to look after her sons and to give them necessary suggestions and to the teachers and the professors concerned with regard to her children. And now when she has grown old and weak with age, she is still beside her brave sons, bearing with fortitude, the sufferings and miseries, hardships and troubles, along with them in their cruel internment at Chhindwara. Such, then, is the lady, the mother of the two great sons of India, whom the whole of Bharata Varsh reveres to-day and whose good name will be handed down to posterity as an emblem of bravery, fortitude, and piety.

The life of Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali at Aligarh was singularly ideal. Both these brothers have always been remarkably affectionate to each other, and in Aligarh the love between the two was proverbial. There they grew together.

> "Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
> But an union in partition."

AT ALIGARH.

IN ENGLAND

During his educational career at Aligarh Muhammad Ali's mental and intellectual faculties found full development. His intellectual capacities were a wonder to all those around him. His memory was extraordinarily capacious and retentive, his imagination was wonderfully sublime and of soaring character. His essays were much more thoughtfully written than an average student of the 4th year is expected to write. All these things attracted the attention of Nawab Muhammed Ishaq Khan, the then Prime Minister at Rampur, who at last got him sent to England for the I. C. S. examination. Unlike other students, Muhammad Ali preferred to stay at Oxford, simply because of its literary fame. He was at Lincoln College for four years from 1898 to 1902. He was quite a popular member of the College, and, to this day, keeps up some warm friendships which he had formed there. The late Fateh Singh, the Kanwar of the Baroda state, had also joined the University towards the end of his career; and it was

perhaps through him that his father, the Maharaja, learnt of Muhammad Ali's versatile and brilliant intellect.

At Oxford Muhammad Ali's energies were diffused on many interests rather than concentrated exclusively on his school, so that he secured only a 2nd class in the Honours School of Modern History, though his abilities should have secured him a higher place. For similar reasons he did not succeed in gaining a place in the I. C. S. He always thinks and speaks of Oxford days as among the happiest in his life, and gained from them a great deal more in experience, wisdom and training of the mind, though many have gained higher academic degrees.

Muhammad Ali returned from England in January, 1902, and was for sometime appointed as head of the Education Department in the Rampur state. But he went back to England again for his final B. A. in April, 1902. He reached there in May, and sat in the examination in the same month. He returned to India finally in July, 1902.

STATE SERVICE

Immediately after his return from England he went in for the High Court examination at Allahabad, but failed by a few marks. He then joined the civil service of the Baroda State, where from time to time he held many responsible posts. He worked for some time in the opium department and during his *regime* the profit rose to twenty-fold which was, in round figures about 17 lakhs of rupees. He carried out many reforms there among which the stoppage of the "land oppression" needs special mention. This *zulum* had been in vogue for a considerable period in the Nausari District to the detriment of the poor aborigines who were the only sufferers. Muhammad Ali accordingly submitted a report on the subject laying down a detailed scheme as to how best to cope with the situation. The only opposition came from the local Parsi syndicate. But the general masses and the aborigines who were forced to buy plots of land at huge prices, were with their

benefactor, and it was thus that the poor got rid of the oppression from the rich.

The Maharaja always treated Muhammad Ali more like a father and friend than a mere master, and he must have felt sorry for losing the services of so capable and conscientious a worker as Muhammad Ali was. He is one of those Indians who have discharged their responsible duties in a manner which has not failed to prove to the world at large that Indians are not lacking in anything where brain and efficiency are needed. His work in the most advanced state of India can be considered as a very bright record worthy of a conscientious worker whether he be an Indian or a European. But the field of work offered too narrow a scope for a man like Muhammad Ali, and with the intention of serving his community and country on a larger scale, he applied for two years' leave and started his own weekly paper "the Comrade" from Calcutta.

LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Before dealing straight away with the *Comrade* and the work that it did, I wish to write a few lines here about Muhammad Ali's literary activities. While in Baroda he contributed a few letters on some of the burning questions of the day to the columns of the *Times of India* which were afterwards published in the form of a book under the title of "Thoughts on Present Discontent." These articles were practically written in one night. The book was widely read both by thoughtful Indians and Englishmen. The late Lord Minto had heaped many encomiums on the author. In 1904 he wrote a very beautiful address expounding the aims and objects of the Muslim University which was read by him at one of the Ahmadabad sessions of the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference, and subsequently at the annual session of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference held in Lucknow in the same year. Muhammad Ali wrote also a series of articles probably in 1907, on the

Aligarh of to-day and on some other questions dealing with the M.A.O. College. This series was the result of Sir Lovat Fraser's request, the then editor of the *Times of India*, and now the editor of the *Daily Mail* to contribute to his paper. He contributed sometimes leading articles and reviews on books to it; and I think, no other Indian has ever been asked to write leading articles for the *Indian Spectator* during the life-time of its founder, as well as for the *Hindustan Review*. But the most notable production of his, "India, Past and Present," published in the latter, will always bring home to the readers his keen insight and sober judgment. As has been shown elsewhere, his is a keen incisive wit which was shown by editing a journal, the *Gup*, from Allahabad. Unfortunately only two issues of the paper appeared, as for some unavoidable reasons it had to be stopped. Muhammad Ali's articles on the Morley-Minto Reforms created a very interesting discussion between him and the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. After some time he contributed a series of articles to the columns of the *Observer*, Lahore, which were written in answer to the attacks made on Shaukat Ali by Mr. Muhammad Hayat Khan who wrote under

the pseudo-title of the "Argus." The articles were very humourous and considerably attracted the attention of the Aligarh students and trustees with whom the Ali Brothers have not been less than idols.

One little incident of interest happened some time before Muhammad Ali's departure for Calcutta. He was prevailed upon by H.H. the Nawab of Jaora and Sir Michael O'Dwyer to accept the port-folio of the prime-minister of the said state. A personal interview was also granted to him. But as Muhammad Ali had made up his mind to start a paper, he did not budge an inch from his position inspite of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's personal recommendations.

THE COMRADE AND ITS AIMS

As has been said, Muhammad Ali was in the Baroda service when he matured his scheme of bringing out a weekly paper. He took leave from the Maharajadhiraj for two years, and began to publish his (now defunct) journal from Calcutta. Its first number appeared on the 14th of January, 1911. Muhammad Ali launched upon this plan, because he earnestly wanted to devote himself to the service of his community as well as his country. Nature herself had put this instrument of enormous potentiality into his hands, for like Mr. Syed Hussain of the *Bombay Chronicle*, he had not gone through any journalistic training. I once asked him as to why he had adopted journalism as his profession, and his terse and brief reply was that the requirements of the community demanded that he should take up the work, and consequently he had done it. His idea was to devote his paper more to education than to anything else. All the while he acted as the Editor, he worked with exemplary zeal and fervour, although attended with not unfrequent irregularity. He was, for

the most part of its but too brief life, assisted only by the late lamented Raja Gulam Hussain, B.A., the founder of the *New Era*.

So much then for the staff. As regards the policy and aims of the *Comrade* they can best be described in the words of the Editor himself:—

"We are partisans of none, comrades of all. We deeply feel the many dangers of increasing controversy between races and races, creeds and creeds, and earnestly desire a better understanding between the contending elements of the body politic of India."

As to the relations of the rulers and the ruled, his earnest desire was that "the line of demarcation between the two" should be obliterated altogether, so that the poet's dream might be realised:

"I became Thou, Thou became I, I became
life and Thou became Body,
"That now may henceforth say, I am different and Thou art different".

"When this obliteration is accomplished," he continues, "the present dangers of criticism will cease to be. The opposition will then be as responsible as the Government, and responsibility all the world over goes hand in hand

with sobriety of judgment and temperate expression."

Muhammad Ali more than any one else was alive to the differences that prevailed in the Indian society itself, and so far as it lay in his power, he did his best "to hasten the end," and was always "at the kill." He was also conscious of the gulf which existed—and unfortunately still exist—between the East and the West. To Rudyard Kipling it may be true that

"Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet;" but to the vision of Muhammad Ali the "twain" can "meet." And consequently he wrote: "We may believe in the gulf but refuse to believe it as unbridgable. Remove pride and suspicion on the one side, and prejudice and suspicion on the other, and it will not be difficult to throw cantilever bridge across the yawning chasm. Be it as it may, there is no gulf between races which individuals cannot bridge."

The *Comrade* was a great advocate of a Hindu-Muslim *entente*, and always prevailed upon the Hindus and the Mussalmans to work side by side, with the object of uplifting their

Mother India. On this score Muhammad Ali wrote :—

"But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Mussalmans or the Hindus attempted to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of each other, they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. But every step has to be taken with caution.

Nothing in History, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona, shall we despair of Indian Nationality ? We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its 40 millions of homogeneous people. But a concordant like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicality. It may not be a love marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a *marriage de convenence*, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose, and the muses will not forbid the banus. Even

this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. Oh! Unity.

Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation.
But not for us who watch to-day and burn.
Thou wilt come, but after what long years of trial,
Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial!"

Thus it will be seen that the germs of Indian Nationality were planted deep into Muhammad Ali's heart, years before the National Congress and the Muslim League finally signed the *rapproachment* in Lucknow in 1916. Had he been allowed to work amongst us to-day when India is passing through momentous changes, he would have been of tremendous advantage to the country at large, and his forceful personality would have produced results which we people can little dream of.

The *Comrade* was published from Calcutta, because the Editor wanted to remain in touch with the Government of India. In the beginning of its career, the journal was very popular in the official circles, so much so that it was very much admired for its frank criticism by no less

personages than Lord and Lady Hardinge, Sir James Meston, Sir Charles Cleveland, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Sir Lovat Fraser and others. In addition to this, most of the Government high officials used to subscribe to it. But after some time when the Muslim Communal politics expanded under his guidance, when it began to fight India's battles on really democratic lines, its very candour and frankness was resented to by them, and it began to lose that popularity which it once enjoyed with the officials in Calcutta. But in spite of this indifferent attitude of the Government, Muhammad Ali was ever ready to co-operate with them, although his sincere services were very little appreciated and taken into account. And for that he can never be blamed.

Now I must add here—and it is at the same time true—that the Comrade "combated in a spirited manner the inordinate claims of the Hindu community which was then the pet aversion of the officials, having been till then practically the only political party that demanded a share in the monopoly of the civilians. But he had not set out to fight the battle of the civilians and the controversies of the Comrade with the organs of Hindu opinion

had their genesis in his conviction that Muslim assertiveness would teach the Hindus to moderate their claims and make them prove to co-operate with the Mussalmans for the good of India on an equitable basis."

With the change of the capital, Muhammad Ali removed his office to Delhi in September, 1912. But there he could not work for a long time on account of the existing cliques in Delhi, which proved a stumbling block in the way. However he did much in rousing the public life of that "sleepy hollow," and in upholding the cause of the masses, who up to this day cherish a sweet memory of the Patriot.

MUSLIM LEAGUE

Like the late Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca and the Nawab Vigarulmulk of Amroha Muhammad Ali may rightly be called the father of the Muslim League, for he was connected with it since its very inception. It was established in 1906 under extraordinary circumstances when the Muslim community was passing through a period of uneasiness on account of the political affairs of the country. At that time "the League had confined itself to the maintenance and promotion of the feelings of loyalty in the Muslim community; to the advancement and protection of the interest of the Mussulmans, and without detriment to these two objects the cultivation of harmony and good relations between the Mussalmans and other communities." The Muslim community has without doubt made a rapid advance towards progress since the days of Lord Minto. And however ridiculous these "objects and aims" may appear to a man of to-day, surely it was the creed of the League twelve years ago. How that League has

evolved out of the quagmire of narrow politics, and how it has succeeded, practically at one jump, in setting before itself the idea of self-government within the Empire, may be traced to the whole-hearted efforts of Muhammad Ali, and to no one else.

The readers are perhaps aware that the ideal of self-government, though adopted for the first time during the extraordinary session of the Council of the League in 1912, was really the outcome of that expansion of Muslim consciousness, which has since then become a very important factor in the history of the Mussalmans in India. It should be remembered that the ideal was not adopted "out of malice" towards the Government or owing to the Turco-Italian war, nor was it borrowed from others. But the liberalising influences which had been at work since the foundation of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, are responsible for it. Muhammad Ali who is the flower of that Institution, and who never wanted to dabble in the shallow power of politics, at once gave expression to his community's feelings of self-realisation by proclaiming loud and wide that henceforth the goal of the Mussalmans of India would be to secure self-government

along with other communities of India. This ideal was heartily endorsed by all the educated Muhammadans of India, and afterwards propagated by Sir Ibrahim Rahmat Ullah who adorned the presidential chair next year in 1913. The ideal became so popular that even the head of the reactionary party of the Punjab, the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., to give him his full title, could not resist the pressure of public opinion as voiced by the *Comrade*, and as a concession to the opposition, which the announcement of his election (March, 1913) had inspired in the Muslim progressive circles, went the length of holding it up to the Muhammadan community as the goal of Muslim politics in India. It is also interesting to note that before the address was completed, Mr. Muhammad Shafi had consulted Muhammad Ali on the subject.

A word or two of mild rebuke to the Muslim League would not be out of place here. Since Muhammad Ali's internment the very life seems to have departed from it. It has not carried on any agitation for the release of the Muslim interness as a whole, nor has it cared to popularise the ideal of self-government as is being vigorously done by other represen-

tative bodies of the Hindus. It is tending to grow into a do—nothing body, and until and unless new fires of enthusiasm and energy are put into it, it may cease to be the organ of the advanced Muslim opinion.

THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Forty years ago, the Earl of Lytton had laid the foundation stone of the Muhammadan College at Aligarh. At that time the Founder has explicitly said that "it was the seed of a Muslim University that was being sown that day." But the inception of such a University really dates from 1873 when the late Justice Mahmood had submitted a scheme for it. But that time was rather premature, for it is only for the last 10 years, *i.e.* nearly 30 years after the scheme was originally prepared, that the Mussalmans of India are in sight of a University, although they were long trying to reconcile Oriental learning with Occidental literature and science, and to preach the "gospel of free inquiry" as was done in the good old days by the Moors in Spain. The Mussalmans were also trying to regenerate their faith from within, not from without. And this consisted in purifying the old faith, and not bringing in a new one, for the Occident can give us nothing better to follow than the precepts of the Koran. The

Muhammadan leaders of this country thought and believed that these things were possible provided their long-cherished desire of establishing a Muslim University at Aligarh was fulfilled. The Mussalman masses read in the efforts of their leaders, signs of the future glory of Islam and were happy at the idea that Islamic learning would be revived and that Aligarh would become a second Cordova or Baghdad. During the last decade these ideas were extensively diffused among the Mussalman masses by men like His Highness the Aga Khan, Muhammad Ali and the Raja of Muhmudabad whatever may now be said of the merits of the first-named gentleman, at that time, indeed, he was the standard bearer of Muslim learning, a hero in the strife. He was all hope. And the gigantic receptions which were, from time to time, given to him when, at the instance of Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, he made a tour for the collection of funds, proved full well how he was respected and honoured. As regards the other two gentlemen the majority of people had and still have implicit faith in them. And if the University of the Mussalmans have met with a tragic end, it is to no fault of theirs. It is due to the Ali-

garh oligarchy which is responsible for all this set back.

Muhammad Ali, who along with H.H. the Aga Khan had done much in the way of popularizing the scheme and collecting funds for it, stood for affiliation upto the time of his internment. "The Mussalmans," he wrote after the *fiat* of the Education Department, "want to evolve a certain type of education suited to their need and genius, and they want an All-India organisation for that purpose. The proposed Muslim University was primarily designed to furnish that organisation. But if that University is to be deprived of the power of guiding Muslim education throughout India by a well-planned system of affiliation, the main object underlying the University movement, falls to the ground." On the 10th of April, 1916, in Lucknow, under the presidentship of the Raja of Mahmudabad, it was decided that the "decisions" of the Secretary of State for India in regard to the Muslim University, though "final," should never be taken as such, and that the Government ought to be approached on the subject again. This meeting was fairly representative, as delegates from all parts of India were present there. At

this meeting a resolution was also passed expressing sorrow at the enforced absence of the Ali Brothers since then no change had taken place in the attitude of the Mussalmans, when all of a sudden on the 8th of April, 1917, another meeting of the Foundation Committee was convened at Aligarh where it was decided to get "the best possible University on the lines accepted by the Hindus." There were some people who wanted to postpone the matter with due difference to Muhammad Ali's wishes as expressed in his letter addressed to the Raja of Mahmudabad on the subject. But the reactionary party had for the time being won the day, and hence the voice of the opposition was drowned in the loud din of the well-wishers.

The Mussalmans, however, have now decided by majority to accept the University on the Government terms. And it is really a pity that no heed was paid to the wishes of Muhamad Ali whom his internment did not allow to attend the gathering in person for which he had repeatedly applied to the Government.

THE HAMDARD AND ITS AIMS

Like Mrs. Besant, Muhammad Ali knew the power of journalism as a means to educate the masses on all the public affairs. The *Comrade* being in English, could not be advantageously studied by them. He, therefore, started the *Hamdard* in 1913, and that was the only Urdu daily which was printed from moveable type. This was an altogether new departure in the Muslim journalism, and was maintained at an enormous personal sacrifice, as his idea was to get together a good number of Muslim writers and make them write in Urdu, books on all subjects—literary syndicate like the Anjuman-i-Taraqq-i-Urdu—maintaining them with a subsistence allowance of Rs. 75, and giving them large share of the profit. Unlike the Zamindar and other off-shoots, the Hamdard was sold at two pice a copy instead of one, and in spite of it, its circulation had reached 9000. No other Urdu daily had such a brilliant record. In other words, its circulation was equal to the combined circulations of 4 or 5.

Urdu leading dailies of to-day. And that is another proof of Muhammad Ali's popularity with the masses.

The staff of the paper consisted of some of the ablest hands. Mir Busharat Ali Jalib of the Hamdam and Qazi Abdul Gaffar of the Jamoor were working on it, besides many others; and they continued to conduct a paper even after the Editor's internment. But as the Government had saddled it with a whimsical censor who wanted to see nothing but trash in it, the Hamdard ceased to exist after some time. Its disappearance from the field was a death blow to the Urdu Journalism and an end of all the political education of the masses.

Muhammad Ali wrote practically very little for the Hamdard. But he always found time to discuss in his green room almost all the points with his sub-editors who were given sufficient time to study all the possible aspects of a question. The discussion was always friendly and every one was free to say what he thought right. The relation between him and the sub-editors was not that of the Master and the servants, but really speaking, they enjoyed a sort of family life. And this is a feature which was unique in Urdu journalism and

which was mainly responsible for the quality of everything that appeared in the Hamdard.

From the bureaucratic point of view also, it was nothing less than a blunder to have gagged the *Hamdard*, for like the phœnix, four independent dailies—the *Sidagat*, the *Tarjman*, the *Hamdam*, the *Jamhoor*, apart from the *New Era* which was the successor of the *Comrade*—arose from its ashes. The staff of the defunct *Hamdard* was doing all this mischief, and it would have been much better had it been localised in Delhi alone.

If the masses in general have begun to take a greater interest in the affairs of the country; if they have begun to throb with new life and if they have ceased to be dumb and mute "like cattle" as in the good old days of the bureaucratic *regime*, it can safely be ascribed to the training of the *Hamdard*, which will long be remembered by all the lovers of freedom and of free press.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE AFFAIR

This is a truism that Muhammad Ali never took any action until he studied the situation well and until all the facts of a case were fully grasped by him. The same is true about the Machhli Bazar Mosque Affair, which is wrongly styled a 'riot.' I wish I could have buried the sad memories of the incident of the 3rd August, 1913, into oblivion, with due deference to the wishes of our popular ex-Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge; but I feel I would not be doing justice to Muhammad Ali who had put his very heart and soul into the matter for God, the King, the law and the people, and who had fought out the case with all the might a mortal can command.

As is well-known, for purposes of constructing a new road through the Machhli Bazar, it was found necessary to acquire a small portion of the mosque premises. Some of the *Mutawallis* (Trustees) of the mosque, who were men of feeble stuff and who "wanted to please their collector more than their God," approved

of the plan prepared by the Municipal Committee without of course referring to the *maulvis* of recognised ability and learning. But when the decision became public, serious objections, based on religion as they were, began to be raised against the contemplated course of the Municipal Committee. Meanwhile men of learning and influence prevailed upon the authorities to abstain from interfering with the religious sentiments of their subjects, even at the expense of impairing the beauty and grandeur of the Bazar. But the authorities apparently received it with a shock to their æsthetic sense. To put matters briefly, inspite of all opposition the said portion of the mosque was demolished in the presence of a *posse* of police.

The very act of destroying a portion of the Sacred Structure, which had been raised "by the hand of man to the glory of the Most High," was taken as an insult to Islam as it was bound to be since the demolition of a mosque is a sacrilege according to Islamic Law. And consequently the whole Muslim population of India was filled with sorrow and anguish. It need not be reminded here that the act itself which was committed on the 2nd

of July, 1913, a month before the so-called 'riot,' was in contravention to the letter and spirit of Queen Victoria's Proclamation issued on November, 1, 1858, to the princes and peoples of India. Innumerable meetings of protest were held throughout the length and breadth of India, denouncing the action of the Cawnpore authorities. The part played practically by the whole of the Hindu press at that juncture, was simply praise-worthy. This sympathetic attitude of the Hindus towards their Muslim compatriots during that trouble, did more than anything else to bring about an alliance between the two great communities of India. And that was the one good result—besides many more—accrued from the great evil.

On the 3rd August, 1913, *i.e.*, a month after the sacrilege, the Muhammadans of Cawnpore gathered together at the Id-gah for consultation. When the meeting was over, hundreds of people, including many youngsters, went straightway to the mosque, and began to heap loose bricks on each other without mortar as symbolic of re-construction. This led to imaginary dangers, and consequently the police was sent down to the spot with a view

to disperse the agitated mob. After some scuffle, the police fired its famous volleys of shots and afterwards bayonetted those present there. And, in a short time, all was quiet. Many lay dead and wounded. And this followed by a reign of terror which lasted upto the advent of the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque.

There poured in Cawnpore an army of pleaders and advocates to defend the 'rioters,' who were chained to the walls of the prison-house. They were many, including juveniles, who were afterwards released on the explicit excuse of their being too young. Maulvi Azad Subhani of the *Madrisa-i-Ilahiyat*, Cawnpore, was one of those who were adorning the dark dungeon by their presence. No nobler and more innocent set of prisoners could have ever been secured by the high-handed Indian police than these 'rioters,' who had so far done nothing prejudicial to the public safety or inimical to the interests of the Government established by law in India.

Now Muhammad Ali was not sitting idle all through that uneasy time. Inspite of much pressure brought to bear upon him by his numerous friends and visitors—including the *Mutawallis*—from Cawnpore, he had kept the

affair of the mosque out of his papers, till a part of it had been demolished. He had reposed full confidence in the sagacity and wisdom of his intimate quondom friend, Sir James Meston, but it was impossible for any honest journalist to be satisfied with the demolition of the Mosque and in view of the heavy responsibility that he had taken upon himself in advising the Cawnpore Mussalmans against newspaper agitation while he was corresponding privately with the Lieutenant Governor, he was bound to agitate against the sacrilege. And from that time onward he was "in the press of knights and the thick of events," and with a view to come at the desired point, he boldly added his "needful length of sight and of arm" to what the Mussalmans of India already wanted, when, however, Sir James Meston plainly told the Deputation at Lucknow that he would do nothing in the matter, the position grew quite precarious. It was then that Muhammad Ali began his constitutional agitation. He also recognised that agitation in India would not be of much avail, and so he, accompanied by Syed Wazir Hasan, quietly proceeded to England to appeal to His Majesty's ministers,

and when matters grew too critical, tried to bring about an understanding between the two parties. In pursuance of this object he exerted day and night, with the result that the Municipality had to revise its bye-laws and to make certain modifications with a view to appease the growing discontent of the butchers. Had Muhammad Ali not cared to co-operate with the authorities, the strike would have been prolonged for an indefinite period, and the discomfort of a large section of the Delhi people and the legitimate discontent of the butchers would have assumed a dangerous shape.

As in this matter so in others, Muhammad Ali proved a friend of the masses. And that was the secret of his popularity. He was not one of those arm-chair leaders who keep aloof from the masses and look down upon them. No, he was of the type of Mahatma Gandhi in this respect and never felt ashamed to stand by them when they were wronged. But however ridiculous it may appear, it was not the larger aspects of his politics that offended the authorities so much as incidents of this type.

HIS ICONOCLASM

For a correct appreciation of the value of the political work accomplished by Muhammad Ali it is necessary to recall to mind the state of Muslim politics which confronted the political *debutante* when he first made his appearance on the political stage. At that time there was no Muslim public opinion at all, and the Muslim Democracy also was lying dormant. Decorated imbecility and titled sycophancy had taken the place of leadership, which consisted in asking for favours from the Government whose actions were regarded by an ordinary Muslim politician as too sacred to be criticised. In a word, mendicancy on the one hand and submissiveness on the other, were the characteristic features of the Muslim leaders of that time, who had formed an oligarchy of their own which consisted of narrow-minded egoists and life-less dotards, who had practically lived their day.

The work which awaited Muhammad Ali was not only difficult but hazardous as well. But with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness he set about accomplishing the destruction

necessary to the birth of that Muslim Democracy which was once the marvel of the world and to which he stood a sponsor. Old idols were unceremoniously dragged from their cherished places of influence and power and shattered to pieces. Power was soon wrested from those who had the sole monopoly of it, and transferred to younger and studier ones. The monopoly of power hitherto enjoyed by opportunists and sycophants was once for all broken. The Khan Bahadur ceased to be the awe inspiring thing he once was, but he stood exposed in all his nakedness to the merciless scrutiny of his community. The official was also shorn of his supposed infallibility and came to be criticized and found fault with like an ordinary mortal. The Government of the country ceased to be sacrosant and came in for its due share of frank, honest and fearless criticism.

But Muhammad Ali's work did not stop here. Under his fostering care Muslim Democracy grew into a living, virile and self-assertive thing. Muslim India emerged from its old isolation with new fires of enthusiasm, to participate in the political activities of the country along with other communities of India.

HINDU-MUSLIM ENTENTE

It is sometimes averred that Muhammad Ali was a great communal worker, and that whatever he did, he did for his own community only. So far as the first part of the statement is concerned, the answer is in the affirmative. But the second part is one on which opinions must differ. I have been in personal touch with him for a long time, and it was a habit with me then to mark the trend of his thoughts and activities. What I gathered was that notwithstanding his love and zeal of service for his own community, he never ignored the claims of the Hindus and other communities of India. He always pined for a union, was ever anxious to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted actions, on equal terms on questions of public good, and never wished that the Hindus and the Mussalmans should go on drifting from each other. But one thing is quite certain. He was never in favour of any "patched-up" peace or a compromise on the explicit plea of its not being lasting at all. "No friendship," he once wrote, "can endure

long that is not based on mutual confidence and respect." Muhammad Ali, therefore, began from the very beginning. He paid a visit to the Central Hindu College, Benares, probably in the year in which the Muslim League was founded, to study the Young Hindu ideals and patriotic feelings, and there delivered a lecture before the students on Hindu-Muslim relations. He pointed out then that if Hindus became true Hindus and Mussalmans true Mussalmans, all the friction would disappear in a moment. Muhammad Ali of course insisted for the welfare of India, that "the communal sentiment and temper must change and interest must grow identical before the Hindus and the Muslims can be welded into a united nationality." And though, like a caged bird he is now deprived of his freedom, yet he must be watching with gratification the fruits of his past labours when he was free to do his "bit" for the Motherland.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION

The accompanying paragraphs will bring home to the readers, Muhammad Ali's views on the above subject which is engrossing the attention of almost all the great Indian leaders of to-day :—

The principle underlying state education in India have been shaped by expediency and low utilitarianism. The main idea of the Government has been to train men for the ministerial posts in the public services, and naturally enough the type of public instruction hitherto in vogue in this country, has provided a mere mechanical training of a few intellectual faculties. It has absolutely failed to train personality, because it has been innocent of ideals, has been inspired by no collective will and has consequently failed to touch character and mind with a unifying purpose. Public education, organised and directed by a foreign government, cannot become national in the broad sense of the term. It may produce useful and clever men. After immense labour and expense it may even produce men with highly trained faculties and initiative to strike

out new lines of career, men who may succeed in business enterprise or become captains of industry. But it will rarely give birth to men of large purposes and great ideas who would sum up in their personality the hopes and the intellectual and moral possibilities of the race, and would in turn enlarge the scope of those possibilities, and enrich the common life with new hopes. Only a *national* education can evolve this virile, ample and gracious type. And yet a truly national education for India is a remote possibility, and all plans for the training of the younger generations are, at present, to be in the nature of compromise. For, it cannot be too often repeated that the only efficient instrument for the organisation of modern education is the State. Decentralisation may be good for some administration purposes, but the vast problem of education can be treated satisfactorily only on wholesale principles. This is specially true of elementary education. A person without elementary education of the things necessary for a purposeful existence, cannot be a good citizen. The contrivance of civilisation for a rapid circulation of ideas and the despatch of the work of daily life, which the knowledge of the three R's

represents, is as much necessary for the purposes of efficient citizenship as the organisation of the social services and the apparatus of public Justice. Every recognised duty of the State means, in a sense, a corresponding surrender of individual right. Public law implies compulsion. The State in its modern sense is an instrument of social re-adjustment according to the varying needs of the community. It has already some of the most intimate personal prerogatives of the present. The collective will and mind, as expressed through state organisation, have been declared to be far better fitted to look after the training of the younger generation than the caprice, the inadequate will and imperfect intelligence of the individual.Elementary education therefore is one of the primary duties of a modern state, and the Indian Government can never have an easy conscience as long as that duty remains undischarged.

As regards secondary and higher education, we think that the highest results can be obtained only *if the organisation and control are in the hands of the Indians themselves.* The only key to the solution of this aspect of the problem is to encourage private enterprise. Indian

Government, by its very character and constitution, can only be a very clumsy instrument in evoking the collective mind of India. The state schools and colleges and universities, however efficient and well-equipped, cannot train character and personality on *national* lines. It is only a Hindu or a Muslim University that can furnish the necessary ground for the germination of the people's genius. The restriction of the scope of these universities, from the stand-points of India's collective educational needs, is the most short-sighted blunder committed by the Secretary of State. The impulses for wholesome national life, which a contact with Western culture, has called forth amongst the Indian mind want a home for a full many-sided expression. The decision recently announced in regard to the scope of the Hindu and the Muslim University schemes, would choke these impulses and retard the development of Indian education on right lines. Mr. Montagu is satisfied to think that " the Government might be proud of their record, and if their educational ideals were realised, they would have laid the foundation of a national system of education by a net-work of really valuable schools, colleges

and universities, so that Indian students would be able to qualify themselves in India for the highest position in every walk of life." The last ideal may be realised, but a "national system of education" can only be evolved on *national lines*, and in accordance with the inspiration of national" hopes and genius. The control and direction of high education must be in the hands of the Indians themselves if India is to grow through unity of purpose and training to a vigorous and complete national life."

AS A PAN-ISLAMIST

Much has been said and written on Pan-Islamism and its political ambitions by European "scholars" as well as by those non-Muslims who are supposed to be conversant with the teachings of Islam. The spirit in which these articles have been written is, however, one and the same. Their style may be different, their illustrations may be multiform, but the thing which they drive at, never differs. The consequences of these so-called scholarly articles have been very sad and injurious to the integrity of Islam. And it is because of such unwholesome and mischievous articles and utterances that Pan-Islamism has come to be considered as a great danger, and now, like the Yellow and Black perils, it has become a distinct entity.

That Europe regards Pan-Islamism as a movement directed against her, can be proved by an intelligent perusal of those articles which have appeared from time to time in English and continental periodicals. The '*Times*' notorious article written immediately after the 'Cawnpore Affair' is merely one of

those articles which have found a favoured place in the columns of that reactionary paper. It is strange that in India, too, there are certain leaders of thought and men of influence who unhappily fall in with the views of the charitable critics of Pan-Islamism. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is one of them. And I regret that a man of his education and calibre had sided with the adverse critics of Islam. To him the movement is entirely political and "is a distinct challenge to every non-Muslim state-authority holding sway over any Muslim population. It is a standing menace to the peace of every people composed partly of non-Muslim and partly of Muslim populations." Besides, he considers that "the dictum that the Indian Mussalman is first a Muslim and then an Indian. . . has a very sinister meaning behind it." Mr. Pal also accuses the Government of India of "unwittingly" strengthening "the Pan-Islamic sentiment" in this country "by pandering to the vanity of the Muslim leaders by giving them preferential treatment in the constitution of the recently 'Reformed Councils.'" Again, a writer* in the *Dawn*

* Vide Mr. Pal's book "Nationality and Empire," published in 1916.

Magazine of Calcutta, read sometime ago, in the educational activities of the Mussalmans a tremendous motive seeking the political rehabilitation of Islam and the establishment of its ascendancy as a world-power. He identified the demand of the Muslim University at Aligarh with a desire to establish a centre for the training of "Pan-Islamism" to Mussalmans who would spread forth as missionaries in the world to preach the advent of the " Empire of Islam," and rouse armies of fanatics to work for the overthrow of Christendom.

The meaning which the aforesaid writers have attached to the Pan-Islamic movement now on foot in the Muhammadan world, is not only far-fetched but ridiculous. The designs behind these writings need no comment, especially when it is perfectly known that that Pan-Islamism has been a source of constant trouble to a set of Orientalists, " who are more concerned with the creation of bogeys than of books."

Pan-Islamism is a movement based on religious fraternity, and its foundation was laid 1300 years ago by our Holy Prophet at the time when he proclaimed loud and wide that " Muslims are brothers in religion." It is not

in any sense a new movement at all though it appears so to non-Mussalmans. When asked about the progress of this movement in Turkey, Halit Halid Bey, the late Consul-General of Turkey in India, told me amongst other things that the word "Pan-Islamism" was purely of European origin and that he never used that term to denote the religious fraternity because of its corrupted sense. This term came into prominence during the Balkan war when a great wave of sympathy for Turks was felt throughout the Muslims of the world. At that time Europe might have taken the outward show of sympathy to mean some plot to destroy Christian countries. Nothing can be farther from truth than to say that Muslims under the leadership of Turkey would ever wage war against Christianity. To enter into a general crusade against Christendom is contrary to the spirit of the Koran. It needs no reasoning to prove that no such thing is contemplated in future. Pan-Islamism means nothing but the general uplifting of the depressed Mussalmans to the platform of equality, justice and liberty. It also means the general strengthening of commercial relations, based as they would be on religious ties

among the Mussalmans of the world. Thus the Chinese and the Turks, the Indians and the Persians, the Arabs and the Africans, will unite not only in the common bond of religious brotherhood, but also of commerce. It is, in a way, also political, but stripped altogether of diplomatic bearings and designs. The future of Pan-Islamism is thus entirely religious, social and commercial, and in no sense whatever will it ever be politically aggressive.

Muhammad Ali, to say the least, was a Pan-Islamist as all Muslim leaders are, and he was perfectly in accord with the views expressed above. The following once appeared in the *Comrade*:—

"Pan-Islamism, when we come to consider its etymology, is a meaningless tissue of passion and prejudice. If it means anything, it refers to the existence of a community of sentiment and aspiration among the Mussalmans of the world as brought into existence by their religion. In that case, Islam bears exactly the same connotation, being the name of a set of beliefs and ideals common to the entire Mussalman races. Interpreting the word in this sense, no Mussalman need be

ashamed of its application. *His sympathies are co-extensive with his religion, and a race and a country has never captured him to the extent of the utter immersion in a narrow patriotism of the ideals* which the acceptance of Islam had made his. But if we take the phrase to mean as some scare-mongers of the Yellow Press in Europe tell us it means, some hidden political tendencies of modern Islam, struggling into an organised combination in order to throw back the tide of European aggression, we cannot but regard it as a figment of some heated brain. The progressive forces of modern civilisation have no doubt produced a spirit of restlessness in the Mussalman populations of the world. But the unrest is entirely the outcome of their consciousness about their intellectual and moral degradation. They want to reform their society, to grow in knowledge and self-respect and to enjoy all the amenities of an age of progress and freedom. Every Mussalman sympathises with his brother Mussalman in this desire, be they as far apart as Morocco and China. Surely there is nothing dangerous and immoral in this aspiration. The Mussalmans have proved their loyalty as subject

races under alien systems of government. In China and Russia their patriotism has never been called into question. They have developed the true civic sense and the necessary political consciousness as citizens of state. Islam does not hamper such development. *Territorial patriotism is not at all compatible with the spiritual catholicity of a religion* that has declared in a set of common ideals the brotherhood of man, and the supreme shallowness of the distinctions reared by the prejudice of color and race.......*Mussalmans know this that Pan-Islamism is the cry of the aggressive Europeans, and that from race prejudice it has grown into a cult.....If Pan-Islamism is anything different from every-day Islam, the Mussalmans do not believe it.* Its real significance can be explained by some of those gentlemen who founded the Pan-Islamic society of London."

Muhammad Ali believed and still believes like Dr. Iqbal of Lahore that "Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple rationalism purge it of the dross of superstition as well as of Godless materialism." Once more read the words of Muhammad Ali :—

"What was the essence of the Islamic

civilisation? It was not Art, though Art formed the basis of Greek culture. It was not Metaphysics, though Metaphysics supplied a substratum to Hindu civilisation. And it was not Politics, though Politics is the foundation of modern European society. It was social Ethics. Islam was a *mazhab*—a pathway—and neither contemplation nor conquest can be the true *mazhab* of humanity. If the puritanic character of that faith had discouraged music; if its ideality had checked the growth of sculpture and painting; if its *tagwa* or God-fearingness had choked the channel of Arab poetry of the Days of Ignorance, with its free loves and wars of vengeance; if its horror of subtleties had made it unattractive of the abstruse thinker, it had at least supplied the Muslim with a single guide of conduct. Not that the flow of Art of music could be checked for ever; for in caligraphy, in carpet-weaving and in architecture the Muslim found outlets for his genius, and, as in architecture so in music, the Muslim graft on the original Aryan plant improved the first beyond recognition. Not that in Literature, Philosophy or Science, thirteen centuries of Islam have been barren; for the names of Firdausi and S'adi, Hafiz and

Khayyam, Abu Nawas and Mutanabbi, Mir and Ghalib, Averroes and Avicenna, Gazzali and Razi, Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmad Khan, are proof enough that the Lamp of Letters was kept alight. But more than all these, the glory of Islam has been that not a soul in the philosopher's closet or the Kitchen had been left without the consolation of religion in its adversities and its perplexities, and that no human being could fail to find readily an easily intelligible rule of conduct in the Koran, that most practical of all codes of ethics for all aspects of life, for all the functions of father or son, husband or wife, neighbour or friend, citizen or subject, king or conqueror."

Now, this fraternity of Faith, as is shown above, was brought into being by the Prophet himself. Individuals have felt sympathy and a brotherly feeling, but an organised brotherhood is yet not fully developed. To develop it to the full is what is connoted by Pan-Islamism. And Muhammad Ali, being an embodiment of all that is good in Islam, tried in his own humble way to organise the brotherly feeling which is and will ever be found in the hearts of the Believers. He collected funds for his

afflicted brethren in Tripoli and Turkey only under a heavy religious and humanitarian responsibility; he organised a Medical Mission for Turkey merely because he believed that it was his sacred *duty* to alleviate the sufferings of humanity. There was no other motive behind it. And hence it should never be misconstrued and misinterpreted.

AS A SPEAKER

Those of us who had the privilege of hearing the various speeches of Muhammad Ali can very well recall to our minds how impressive he was in his speech and how incisive in his arguments. His persuasive style of delivery, his matchless power of orations only equalled by his enthusiastic patriotism, his clearness of vision, and his unique way of putting his acute observation before the public, can be well understood if we paint before our mind's eye that robust figure of Muhammad Ali standing on the platform, addressing the audience with his characteristic ardour and zeal of a vehement enthusiast, holding before it, as it were, a faithful mirror of the country's situation, tackling the complex and disputed questions which baffle the minds of intellect, with tact and intelligence. It was a matter of great delight to hear him speak how he felt the pulse of his audience; how he strove to evoke the locked-up emotions of each individual forming a unit of the audience, and raised them to the highest pitch; how he quoted facts and figure when any question of practical

nature was at stake! It is no exaggeration to say that to a man standing without the pandal, the voice of Muhammad Ali, when swayed by emotions would appear like the noise of a thunder roaring in a distant corner. How he had acquired mastery over the language; how his long rolling periods, like the waves rising and falling on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, rose and fall with cadence, touching every chord of human heart. As a speaker, Muhammad Ali had combined in himself the accuracy and exactness of a fact-teller, the wisdom and insight of a statesman and the essential qualities of a well-merited orator.

AS A JOURNALIST

Long before Muhammad Ali appeared on the horizon of India as a journalist, he used to contribute thoughtful articles to various periodicals of India. But since he began to edit the famous *Comrade*, his high-flown and sparkling style of writing English became known far and wide. Among the Mussalmans, at least, there is perhaps none who can fairly compete with him in writing English. He had attained an unrivalled mastery over the English language which can be brought home to every intelligent reader of his articles. In Urdu, too, he wrote with a force which can hardly be surpassed. His writings were characterised by deep thought, sobriety of judgment, keen incisive wit and a delightful interest which was kept alive from beginning to end. He was a bold, unsparing, though sympathetic, critic of the government measures, and used to show the "faults of the administrators," but with the sole object of removing them and bridging the gulf which lay yawning between the rulers and the ruled. The "ample space" in which Muhammad Ali roamed, can best be

described in the words of an ex-President of the All-India Muslim League. "We reserve," said Sir Ali Imam, "the right of frankly fearlessly and boldly criticizing the measures of Government: we reserve the right to protest, however respectfully, against the continuance of certain of its methods; we reserve the right to refuse to believe in the soundness of a particular policy of it; and we also reserve the right of standing shoulder to shoulder with our brethren of other denominations when we find our country under a real grievance. But at the same time we declare that in our relations with Government we will not permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgment and create disaffection."

AS A POET

"A poet," says Emerson, "is no rattlebrain, saying what comes uppermost, and because he says everything, saying, at last, something good; *but a heart in unison with his time and country.* There is nothing whimsical and fantastic in his production, but *sweet and sad earnest, frighted with the weightiest convictions*, and pointed with the most determined aim which any man or class knows of in his times." The same is true of Muhammad Ali. Like Gray, he has not written much; but whatever he has given to the world, proves the mettle of the man. His poetry is essentially the production of the age in which he moves, lives and has his being, and its dominating feature is practical religion. The fortunes of his co-religionists in Turkey, Persia and elsewhere, had considerably influenced his mind, but like a true Muslim, he never despaired. His religious fervour is never morbid like that of a recluse. He is convinced of a bright future in store for his religion. He sees a reflection of the past glories of Islam in the future. This note of inspiring hopefulness in his poetry is in

common with Iqbal, the study of whose poetry —at least in my opinion—is not only a source of spiritual inspiration, but *per se* an act of worship.

Muhammad Ali's poems remain, more or less, limited to his friends who carry them about from one place to the other. After the poets of his age he has also written several odes, but they are almost devoid of such terms as *gul* (rose)and *bulbul* (nightingale) which wore once the very back-bone of Urdu poetry. In that respect he follows Hali, whose pioneer work in the cause of Muslim renaissance will always continue to find a cherished place in the memories of the Muslims of India.

Muhammad Ali's language is not difficult like Galib's or Iqbal's, but the theme underlying is, sometimes, "too deep for tears." Nevertheless, he can be understood by all fairly-educated people, as his style is generally lucid, sweet and appealing to heart.

Here below the English rendering of a few of his couplets is given, though I believe that the original beauty can never be reproduced in any translation :—

1. You may go on imagining that annihilation is in store for me, but the Unseen has

disposed otherwise, and has given me an ever-lasting life.

2. I rejoice that the message of self-surrender which long ago was addressed to Hussain, the son of Ali, has been adressed to me also.

3. This invitation comes from the *houris* of heaven—I come—for the challenge of the field of slaughter is for me.

4. The true Unity consists in this that on the Day of Judgment God may declare : This servitor of mine contemns the two worlds for love of me.

5. God-fearingness banishes all thoughts of fear and anguish from the mind. That is a world quite different from ours, for there the mind is without care and anxiety.

TURKEY AND ENGLAND

To put briefly Muhammad Ali loved the only independent Mussalman power which controlled and protected the sacred places of Isalm. And at the same time, he was second to none in praising and appreciating the British people. It was his love on the one side and appreciation on the other that led him to try to bring about an understanding between the greatest Muhammadan power and the greatest Muslim Empire. Out of the entire Mussalman population of the world, more than 85 millions are under Great Britain, while in Turkey where Islam is the national religion and where other religions are wonderfully tolerated, there are about 15 millions of Muslims. In India there are more than 70 millions of Mussalmans who have always remained loyal to their king. Here "purification of our Muslim faith," and the loyalty of the Mussalmans to the non-Muslim Government of the country in which we live, are entirely "compatible objects," and this

has always been the ideal of the Mussalmans of this country to which Muhammad Ali was no exception.

Before Turkey's intervention in the European struggle, Muhammad Ali had pointed out, in the strongest terms possible, that the "vital Turkish interests do not point to any possibility of such action on her part, and the Teutons have certainly no claim on Turkish gratitude. Austria-Hungary officially despoiled Turkey of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Germany actively supported the Italian raid on Tripoli, and her whole policy in relation to Turkey has naturally been based on calculated and extreme selfishness." Again, he wrote in his most famous and out-spoken article, "The Choice of the Turks"—the article which has brought all this misery upon him and his equally-gifted brother. Shaukat Ali—that "Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single Anadol, much less a street riot in a single town or a village of India by the Muslim sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrass their own Government." Moreover, when Turkey was wavering inspite of her solemn promises of neutrality, it was very much feared that she

might any day be dragged to range herself with the enemies of the King-Emperor. Accordingly Muhammad Ali and Dr. Ansari sent the following cablegram to His Excellency Talaat Bey: "*Having most carefully considered the situation*, we emphatically believe it would be disastrous for Turkey and the entire Muslim world, if Turkey does not maintain the strictest neutrality. We entreat you to think a thousand times before launching into war. In case war between Turkey and England, our condition also will be extremely sad. Please convey this our respectful and earnest message to the Sardar-i-Azam (Grand Vizier) and Damad Enver Pasha."

Now, do not these endeavours sufficiently indicate that Muhammad Ali never wished that these two powers should ever come into direct conflict with each other? And when this dreadful calamity actually came to pass, he received it with profound grief. I remember the occasion quite well when Muhammad Ali came out of his drawing-room with Reuter's cablegram in his hand reading aloud the actual wordings of it to all of his men, sub-editors and clerks included. Hearing the loud din—for Muhammad Ali's was rather

a monstrously loud voice—I hurriedly went straight to him and saw that tears were in his eyes. This can give us indication that he was wounded to the very core of his heart.

Now to the subject again. Muhammad Ali recognised fully that "Great-Britain is the only power whose vast imperial interests require the continued existence of Turkey as a strong and independent state. Nothing can be more gratifying to Mussalmans in India and elsewhere than that an empire containing the largest number of Muslim subjects, should be the friend and ally of the greatest Muslim Empire in the world." Muhammad Ali was cognisant of the benefits that would accrue to both from such a friendly alliance, and he was one of those who never gave up the hope that Turkey and Great-Britain would ultimately come to realise of how great a value their friendly co-operation would be to both." But the spreading wild fires of war did not leave the Young Turks immune, and thus the aspiration of the Indian Mussalmans was brought to nought. And now, late though we are, we wish that the Traditional Friend of the Turks would once more come to the rescue of Turkey after this terrible bloodshed is over.

The above quotations were Muhammad Ali's pre-war views. Now see his post-war views:—

Passed by the Censor. Chhindwara, C.P.,
...............1916.

My dear——,

I received your letter of the ——when I was very ill. I was passing no less than 8 p. c. of sugar in some 120 to 140 oz. of urine daily, and the doctor would not have been surprised to find one morning that coma had set in and taken me clean off from this world to the next. Luckily, diabetes is a painless disease, but eczema, its precursor and by-product, followed on the rapid increase of sugar, and, being in the groin, laid me up for 10 or 12 days. These details are, however, much too unsavoury, and I mention them only to explain why I did not write to you earlier.

Well, I confess I read your letter with peculiarly mixed feelings, and for a moment even questioned the wisdom of having written to you at all after having dropped practically all correspondence with my English friends for nearly a year, as I had explained to you. But, on second thoughts, I am glad I wrote to you and invited the letter I received. If my own apparently humorous and cheerful letter,

as you call it, was in reality very hard to write, I can also understand that yours could not have been an easy one either, and I can frankly say I bear you no grudge for having written in the way you have done. In fact there is much in it which would have been a pleasing reading at any time, and is all the more so to-day. But after your telling me in a thoroughly straightforward manner that you cannot correspond with a man who wants your enemies to win, I would not have thought of writing this letter to you were it not for the feeling that I owed a reply not so much to myself as to the cause for which I had striven and wrought with a persistence almost pathetic.

There are several underlying assumptions in your letter which, in ordinary circumstances. I would have questioned and even argued about; but to-day I am somewhat indifferent to such things and shall let them rest where they are. But I feel it is only right that you should know, my dear........., that in one thing at least you and I are very unequally matched. Even in these "spacious times" you can frankly say: "He who is not for us is against us," but I—even I, who, as you say, have

never been good at the game of shirking— could have at no time indulged in the luxury of so much candour.

Most of us go to England at a very impressionable age, and the freer air of that country, and the hospitality that at least in our days Oxford, our common Alma Mater, extended to us made us apt to forget that things would be different in India on our return, so that our more abundant emotions hurt us considerably in their reaction in the altered conditions of India. Luckily I have been spared even the passing pain of such reaction so far as my own College or 'Versity friends among the English officials in India have been concerned. The desire of.......to revive old associations, as he put it, when for the first time after ten long years we met at Calcutta, and his hospitality when at his pressing invitation I stayed with him at .....rather than with my brother-in-law with whom my wife and children were staying and your own characteristic friendliness and offer of hospitality when my wife's illness and the treatment officially meted out to the *Comrade* some 18 months ago had done their best to upset me, are things that I cannot easily forget. But they are all the more memorable

because they stand out in bold relief against a background of chill reserve, if nothing less pleasant, which has been the experience of so many of my countrymen. Indeed, there are far too many artificial barriers standing between the official world in India and the non-official to make free intimacy of intercourse possible. And even in the more matter-of-fact pursuit of politics, there has *always* been far too much of make-believe and shirking and skimmings over, whether we be good at the game or the reverse.

But knowing how vital were the issues and how perilous the situation, I had taken my courage in both hands and had for four years urged on the Government in India, and still more on the Government in England, that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of a thorough understanding and reconciliation between the Islamic World and an Empire with a Moslem population twice as large as the Christian or White population of Great Britain, Ireland and the dominions beyond the Seas. You will confess that nothing was lacking in the way of force or frankness or persistence in my exposition of this view of world-politics, and if to-day even your assump-

tion of my views and position as regards the belligerents in this war be correct, the situation in the Dardanelles, in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, or on our own North-Western border cannot with any justice be held to be chargeable to my account. I foresaw all this four years ago and never ceased to warn Government since, and is no satisfaction to me to be able to say to-day: " Hadn't I told you so?" when in addition to the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen who have so meekly and uncomplainingly laid down their lives for you and yours; scores of thousands of houses have been left desolate in lands and to people that I love and regard as my own. The still small voice of a humble journalist who is an alien in his own land, could not be heard or heeded in the din of the tempestuous diplomacy of the Muscovite, and the results have been far too serious to the world for me to seek any relief in complaints about my own loss of liberty and of every source of income except the "subsistence allowance" which Government has fixed for me. Nevertheless, I think you should know that it does hurt if one like you who was expected to be in a position to understand and appreciate the cause for which I

strove with all my might, is content to sum up the whole situation in the conventional formula : " He who is not for us is against us," or in some simple phrase such as " man who wants our enemies to win.'' I had at least worked as no Christian or Englishman had worked to the end that some of those whom you now call your enemies should be your friends, so that if even then this great catastrophe occurred I could mingle my prayers with yours without sacrificing my soul and proving false and faithless to all that I held sacred and holy.

I am not insensible to the promptings of your heart and mind, and fully realise that the territorial patriotism in the atmosphere which you were born and bred, must urge you to consider every one who is not for you to be against you. But, my dear friend, mine is a patriotism no less if it is supernational and extra-territorial, and laughing at physical distance and material barriers, scales over the high walls of the Himalayas and skims over the surrounding seas. It is true I do not owe it to the accident of birth. But can it be less intense because it is the outcome of the most solemn convictions

that man can have about the divine purpose of all creation and a common outlook on this world and the next which I share with some of those whom you call your enemies and against whom your people have unsheathed the sword? Blood and breeding appear to me as totally irrelevant and infinitely petty in a war which (as you say) such large and human issues are involved as Good and Evil. Nevertheless, I recognise that the major portion of the world has not yet progressed out of that stage of evolution in which national and racial labels have as great a significance as family and tribal labels had in an earlier age, and I have no right to under-estimate the intensity of patriotic feeling where patriotism is still based on geographical, ethnical and political divisions. Therefore I honour you all the more for your faith and shall only say with the Quran: "To you your faith, to me mine." *Lakum deenukumwa liya deen.*

This being my last letter to you, let me not close it without expressing my genuine grief at the extremely sad news you give me about three of your brothers. But to one of your nature it must no doubt be a great consolation that two of them died and one will never be

able to fight any more all because they had a cause which you and they alike held to be the noblest and the best and deserving of every possible human sacrifice. Not to all of us is given to lay down our lives for a cause so dear to us. But, then,

"They also work who only stand and wait."
And to live for a great cause, and live up to it, is perhaps harder than to die for it. It is the longer grind. That is my own consolation at present.

God be with you !

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI.

FORFEITURE OF SECURITY

Before the Turks actively got involved in the Armageddon of Europe, the London *Times* had written a very insulting article entitled "The Choice of the Turks" in which it had, in its own tactless manner and threatening attitude, had tried to help the Turks to make his choice, and prevail upon him to maintain the strictest neutrality in the present struggle. It had warned Turkey against waging any war on Greece even, which, by no stretch of imagination, could ever become Great Britain. The whole tenour of the article was not only illogical, but provocative at the same time. And consequently Muhammad Ali could not help writing a pointed reply to it, which appeared in the memorable issue of 26th September, 1914, *i.e.*, four days before Turkey's intervention, and incidentally the very date on which General Sir Edmund Barrow placed a memorandum before the Secretary of State for India recommending the Mesopotamian expedition.

A month or so after the publication of the

afore-mentioned article, the Keeper of "the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press" was served with a notice informing him that "the Governor-General in Council in pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Press Act declares the security of Rs. 2,000 deposited in respect of the said press, and all copies of the issue of the newspaper, called 'the Comrade,' bearing date the 26th of September, 1914, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty."

Now there can be no disputing the fact that the article was the most outspoken ever written by Muhammad Ali, and some of his friends consider it as his master-piece. Mr. C. F. Andrews who had perused that article had remarked that it contained nothing but truth, and nothing for which he should have been punished. And whatever may be the case with bureaucrats, ordinary human beings with some pretensions to common-sense would not view the condemned article in that light. In that fine political piece of literature, Muhammad Ali had sincerely advised the Turks to abstain from participating in the European struggle, and at the same time he had asked the Indian Mussalmans to "assist the Government to the fullest extent of their power in

maintaining the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of India," in case a military collision between Great Britain and Turkey took place. He had also tried to induce the British Government to appease Turkey even if they had to do it at the expense of their temporal interests in Egypt. Whatever may be said about the merits or demerits of the said article one thing is quite certain that it had no "tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion or otherwise, to excite disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India," for we have seen that since the writing of the article the peace of India has *never* been disturbed by the "sympathisers" of Turkey, nor is there any likelihood of its ever being disturbed on this score if the Ali Brothers are released.

I could give opinions of the English press on the said article but for my conviction that the unrighteous decision that condemned the article, would not, at least for the present, be annulled. Muhammad Ali never preached sedition, nor was it within his domains to have done so. He was of course a bold and a frank critic. And though he is mulcted in a

fine of Rs. 2,000 for his reply to the *Times* yet this must be a consoling idea to him that his "last breath was spent in the cause of truth, justice and righteousness."

HIS INTERNMENT

From forfeiture of security the scene passes on to the Editor's internment, which came about in May, 1915. The news had flashed round Delhi in no time, and was received throughout the town with profound indignation. It was quite unexpected, as Muhammad Ali's attitude towards the Government of India was all that could be desired, especially when Turkey's participation into the war had made the position of the Indian Mussalmans more critical. But he, like other Muslim leaders, proved equal to the task, and did nothing in the way of embarrassing the Government. His internment for which no reason was then given, was, therefore, taken as a mockery of British Justice, and the confidence which the Mussalmans had in the Government, was considerably shattered on account of the high-handed and uncalled-for action of the authorities. Since that time innumerable meetings of protest have been held in all parts of India and several thousands of telegrams despatched to the Secretary of State

for India urging the release of the Ali Brothers. Yet the Government have not budged an inch in their defiant attitude towards the country's demand.

It is now an open secret that ere the *fiat* for internment went forth, restrictions were placed on Muhammad Ali in his own native place at Rampur. And this was probably done with the concurrence, if not at the instance, of Sir James Meston. However, he was soon set free as people had begun to make all sorts of enquiries about him. But his real internment dates from 15th May, 1915, when he, along with his brother, was at first sent to Mahrauli, a village about 11 miles from Delhi. The scene of his removal from the public life of Delhi will long be remembered in the annals of this town. It was Friday and both the brothers had gone to the Jama Musjid to say their prayers. On that day many thousands of people had congregated in the said mosque to offer their prayers and to bid adieu to the two patriots who had done all they could, to promote their cause. I was also one of the spectators and could watch all that was happening. Both the brothers clasped hands with all they came in contact with, and advised them to

bear with self-restraint and forbearance the calamity which had befallen them. Hundreds of spectators, both old and young, were seen in tears at the sad plight of their leaders, while others prayed to the Almighty for their speedy release. Overcoming my weakness of shedding tears, I, too, got near them to bid my farewell, and both the brothers affectionately embraced me and had an appropriate talk inspiring both hope and confidence in me. All these ceremonies took hours, and it was in the afternoon that the two brothers motored to Mahrauli, where they were quite at home, as their friends and strangers from Delhi used to visit them daily. But the internees could not enjoy this hospitality for a long time, as the Government had removed them to a more solitary place at Lansdowne and thence to Chhindwara, where the only relieving feature is the affectionate hospitality of the general public towards the Ali Brothers.

I must state here a circumstance which I have forgotten to do above. At "the time when the order of internment was passed by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Muhammad Ali had been suffering continuously for over a year from diabetes, and shortly after the war had

broken out in Europe in August, 1914, he was so ill that for some weeks he could not leave his bed. When he was a little better his wife, who had been ailing for some months past, got very ill indeed. Soon after her condition became less critical, Muhammad Ali became engaged in litigation in connection with the forfeiture of the security of his Press, and this heavy work ended only in March, 1915, when the Doctors found that his health had been completely shattered by over-work and constant worry, and they warned him that if he did not at once cease all work and take thorough rest he was not likely to live very much longer. Accordingly he decided to leave Delhi together with his family, and after arranging with Shaukat Ali that he was to look after the business portion of the *Hamdard* while at Delhi in addition to his own educational and religious work that kept him pretty busy, and handing over charge of all editorial work to his four or five sub-editors, including the late Raja Ghulam Hussain of the *New Era*, he went to Rampur in the middle of April. . . But Muhammad Ali's health did not improve in the heat of Rampur, and His Highness the Nawab permitted him to leave after some

weeks and take up his residence at Mussoorie," where rooms had been taken for him in a Nursing House. He came to Delhi with the intention of going to Ajmer to attend the 'Urs ceremony there and finally proceeding to Mussoorie to regain his health. But on coming to Delhi he fell ill and "the very second day orders of internment were passed against both the brothers by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi."

THE GUILT

When the Ali Brothers were forced to live in internment in May 1915, no definite charge was then brought against them in spite of their repeated requests for its specification. In the Administration report of the Delhi Province for the year 1915—16, only the following appeared under the chapter entitled "Protection":—

> "In the same month (May) was found necessary to intern Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali on account of the bad influence which their bitter propaganda against the British Government was having on a section of the Muhammadan Community."

"This is," writes Mr. O. B. Ghate, the first indication of what the officials desired the public to believe as the grounds for their interning the two brothers, and it is not without its value as the 'first information' in the language of the criminal procedure of our law-courts. Its value is enhanced by yet another indication of the same kind furnished

some four months later by the then Home Member of the Government of India. On the 21st February, 1917, the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending to the Government of India a revision of the Defence of India Rules, 'so as to provide for the constitution in each province of special machinery to consider the cases of persons whose movements or actions it is proposed to control under those rules.' The Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda moved an amendment to the resolution defining the 'special machinery' which Mr. Dadabhoy wished to be constituted as an 'Advisory Committee consisting of a High Court Judge, preferably an Indian, a practising Indian lawyer other than a Public Prosecutor, and a Sessions Judge.' Many non-official members of the council made speeches in support of these views, and among them the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque spoke as follows :—

"………Sir, my own community, I mean Muhammadans, have suffered most in this respect. Men of great influence, men who are looked upon by the entire community with the greatest regard and affection have been

interned, and the entire community is absolutely ignorant why they have been interned and what is their fault. If we knew their fault, and if we knew that their cases were examined by responsible officers, perhaps we would not object. We would be sorry all the same, but we would not object. Now what is the case? I say—and I feel my responsibility when I say it—that the vast majority of my community is entirely disaffected in this country as regards these internments. I have no hesitation in giving to the Government the names of some Mussalman leaders, and I hope the Hon. the Home Member will note these names, who have been interned and about whom the community feels so much. They are Mr. Muhammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. All these men are looked upon with great veneration and respect by the Muhammadans throughout India, and unfortunately their fault is not known. If they are at fault let them be interned by all means; we shall all side with the Government, but for Heaven's sake let us know their fault and the cause of their being interned. If there were any Advisory Committee such as proposed by my Hon.

friend Mr. Dadabhoy and my Hon. friend Mr. Chanda and the Committee gave its opinion, I think the whole community would be satisfied; at least they would know that there was strong suspicion or evidence against the people who are interned."

The Then Home Member followed Mr. Haque and answered him in the following words:—

> "They (the interned) really fall into two classes.........One class is that of persons who are openly and avowedly preaching or publishing ill-will among His Majesty's subjects, or producing excitement of disquietitude, or arousing, it may be dangerous fanaticism, and acting to the constant inconvenience of the King's Government and his officers and to the benefit of the king's enemy. In cases where persons are publicly making speeches or writing articles, and it is known what they are so doing, no one can deny that the only question to be decided is whether what they are doing is likely to be dangerous or prejudicial to the public safety, or to excite the public populace. You do not require Advisory Committee to tell you that. The Executive

Government has to decide that, upon the information before it, upon the knowledge and experience of its officers, and upon considerations of public welfare. The responsibility is theirs and they cannot delegate it to outside persons, whether lawyers or laymen. The responsibility is theirs alone and they must take that responsibility. The second class.........is the class of secret conspirators. Many of these men have record going back for many years. Some of them have been wandering about the country in disguise and under various *aliases*...........It (the Government) cannot place before outsiders secret information that it may have of the enemy's plots, whether these be in the Far East, in Germany, or across the Frontier. These things cannot be stated. They cannot be made public.........But I am willing to undertake this much, *i.e.*, to instruct Local Governments that in every case which belongs to the second category that I have referred to, namely, that category in which you have first to ascertain the facts against a man before you can make a deduction as to whether

his liberty is good or bad for the country in that case—though even in that case not necessarily before—but before or after the internment the proceeding should be examined by a judge or judges of some weight and experience in order that the Government may not act rashly or take action on information which admits of any considerable doubt."

Here again some light was thrown on the nature of offence committed by Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali. "They were classed under the first category; the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who had named them and desired to be told what their fault was and wanted at least an Advisory Committee such as proposed by the Hon. Mr. Chanda to give its opinion, was told that there was nothing to go before an Advisory Committee, that the brothers and the other Mussalman, all publicists, speakers and writers who had been mentioned by name were doing what they were doing 'openly and avowedly.' Whether they were 'preaching or publishing ill-will among His Majesty's subjects' or 'producing excitement or disquietude' or 'arousing dangerous fanaticism' or merely 'acting constantly to the inconvenience

of the King's Government,' and perhaps more particularly to the inconvenience of 'his officers' and possibly 'to the benefit of the king's enemies,' in any of these cases they were persons who were 'publicly making speeches and writing articles, and the only question was 'what they were doing, whether criminal offence or not,' was 'likely to be dangerous or prejudicial to the public safety or to excite the populace,' and according to Sir Reginald Craddock, 'you do not require Advisory Committee to tell you that.' As he had taken care to remind the Council, 'the wording of the Act itself is not that a man to be interned must necessarily be a criminal, or have committed a criminal offence, but that it should be believed that he has acted, is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the country.'"

The country could never be satisfied with such vague statements as the above, and therefore it demanded that the cases of all those people agitating for internal reforms within constitutional limits, should be reconsidered. In the meantime innumerable meetings of protest were held, and with the names of Mrs. Besant and her co-adjutors, those of

Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali were also coupled. The agitation for the release of the five patriots was in full swing when the Secretary of State for India announced his intention of visiting India with regard to the reforms urgently needed in the country. In consonance with the announcement the Viceroy appealed to the Indian leaders to create a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu when he came. Encouraged by the conciliatory tone of Lord Chelmsford's speech, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah asked in the Legislative Council on the 5th September whether "in view of the proposed visit of Mr. Montagu and having regard to the feelings which have been aroused in the country by the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, do the Government of India propose to consider the question of their release?" The Hon. Sir William Vincent replied as follows :—

> "The Government of India are prepared to recommend the Government of Madras to remove the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale under the Defence of India Rules, if the Government of India are satisfied that these persons will abstain from unconsti-

tutional and violent methods during the remainder of war."

He also added:—

> "The Government of India are prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions have been placed under these rules, merely by reason of their violent methods of political agitation."

This reply naturally enough turned the thoughts of Mr. Jinnah to the Ali Brothers, and he, therefore, asked, as a supplementary question, "whether they (the Government) proposed to take the case of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali into consideration." And to this the spokesman of the Government of India replied in the following encouraging terms:—

> "The Government are already considering the cases of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and are making inquiries in regard to them."

The period between the 5th and 26th September 1917 is very significant in the history of the Ali Brothers' internment. On the 7th September, however, Mr. Abdul Majid, Deputy Superintendent of Police, was sent as an emissary

from Simla to Chhindwara, and he showed to the Ali Brothers the form of an undertaking initialed by Sir Charles Cleveland, which as he informed them, the latter desired them to give. It ran as follows:—

Undertaking:—

"I shall abstain during the remainder of the war from doing, writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor. I shall also abstain from doing, writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor. I also promise to abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation which is likely to affect the public safety."

Explanation:—

"The abstentions promised above are not intended to cause me to refrain from participation in politics within constitutional limits."

(Sd.) C. R. C.

Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali replied to the Government in the following wordings instead of the above:—

Bism-i-'llah-i-r-Rahman-i-r-Rahim.

"We have always been God-fearing Muslims who accept above all else the commandments of God as conveyed to us in the Holy Quran and the life and sayings of our Prophet. Without prejudice to this faith we have always been law-abiding lovers of our country, opposed to all unconstitutional and violent methods, and, war or no war, this we always desire and hope to remain. Therefore we have no objection to give an assurance, if any is still needed, to the effect that without prejudice to our allegiance to Islam we shall abstain from doing, writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor, and from doing writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor, and that we shall also abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation likely to affect the public safety. We understand, and base the above undertaking on the clear understanding that the abstentions promised above are not intended to restrict in the slightest measure our freedom to observe all our religious duties as Mussalmans or to cause us to refrain from

participation in politics within constitutional limits."

Two days after this event the Raja of Mahmudabad, probably at the request of the Government, went to Chhindwara to discuss the question of release with the Ali Brothers, and he went away quite satisfied with their attitude. But he was rather annoyed to find that a C. I. D. officer had preceded him.

Now every one naturally expected that the Chhindwara interness would be released along with Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. But this expectation was falsified in face of bare facts, as on the 12th September they were not set free.

Nothing important happened afterwards upto the 26th September, when Sir William Vincent replied to Mr. Jinnah in the following terms:—

> "Restrictions under the Defence of India Rules were imposed upon Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, not merely for violent methods of political agitation but because they freely expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies thus endangering the public safety. The Government of India have made further enquiries regarding these

persons and on a careful consideration of the information and opinions received, and on a re-examination of previous papers, the Government of India are not satisfied the attitude of these persons has materially changed in this respect, or that these restrictions can be safely removed."

Now only God knows whereupon these "previous papers" were obtained. Up till 5th September they were not mentioned at all, and this shows that these papers were procured somehow or other between the 5th and 26th September.

But fortunately this curt though brief reply of the well-informed Home Member has made public for the first time the offence which the Ali Brothers are supposed to have committed. This is also vague, and its true significance cannot be comprehended by any one who has not been initiated into the mysteries of the Red Tape.

These "previous papers", are said to be the two letters written to the Amir of Afganistan and to the well-known Muslim divine of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. They are described as highly inflammatory and of treasonable character. The first, it is alleged, was written

by Muhammad Ali in Persian, and the other by Shaukat Ali. "The moment they came to know of such letters they submitted to the censor, a telegram addressed to the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad, and Messrs Jinnah and Mazhar-ul-Haque, emphatically denying the authorship of all such letters and requesting Government through them to show the letters said to be in its possession. As nothing was heard in reply to this request, Mr. Muhammad Ali addressed a letter towards the end of the last October to Sir James DuBoulay, who was personally known to him and taken over charge of the Home Department as Member from Sir William Vincent. In this he again denied categorically on behalf of his brother as well his own the authorship of, and every other criminal connection with, any such letters and repeated the request that they might be shown to them." As is clear the request was not acceded to. And thus ends the tragedy of letters, mysterious as they are, which were forged to entrap the two esteemed leaders of the Muslim Community.

We, Muslims, can never, even for a moment, cherish this idea in our minds that the Ali Brothers were either constitutionally wrong or

violent in doing all they did for their community and country at large. The activities with which Muhammad Ali remained connected throughout his active public life, have been set forth in these pages, and they leave no room to doubt the honesty and integrity of his purpose. His elder brother, Shaukat Ali, was the founder of the "Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Keaba," which is, as admitted by Lord Hardinge in his letter to its President, Maulana Abdul Bari and in his official despatch to the Secretary of State for India at the outbreak of war, a religious association, and no sane person can ever think that even in all its political bearings, it was ever directed against the British Government, much less against their present allies. So we refuse to believe the belated charge laid at their door after a lapse of 28 months.

Mrs. Besant's letter, sent to the Press immediately after her interview with the Viceroy in connection with the continued internments of the Ali Brothers, has solved, from the Government's point of view, the question of their guilt or innocence once for all. That they are undergoing untold sufferings in a remote prison is not because they are

seditious or violent or unconstitutional, but because in the Government view the war has come to such a pitch that their internment needs continuation. All this practically comes up to this that, even from the Government's point of view, the two brothers have done nothing to jeopardize the interests of the public or of the Government, and if the Government want to keep them in internment, it is because they think that owing to the *debacle* of Russia, the passive sympathy of Muhammad Ali contains "a *possible* menace lest it should pass into active sympathy."

The Government of India are to be congratulated on their farsightedness, for this shows that they had known it in May, 1915, that in September, 1917, the war would come to a very hazardous pass, and that they should, therefore, deprive the Ali Brothers of their liberty beforehand, lest they might lead the British Empire to the very verge of peril during the most critical stage of the war. Surely no better proof of British efficiency is needed in the face of it, as under such circumstances a man becomes guilty of felony *long before* it is *possible* for him to commit the actual crime.

Now to put matters briefly, the Ali Brothers are perfectly innocent in *our* eyes, and have, somehow or other, fallen into the trap of the C. I. D. people, and become victim to the disastrous and shameful working of the Defence of India Rules. Never before has any public grievance been so outraged as in this case, and never before has the whole of India been so unanimous in its demand as in the case of these Muslim leaders. If the Government set them free *unconditionally*, it would be a sheer act of justice; if not, then it should be borne in mind that, in their case, forbearance has long ceased to be a virtue.

It is not the least disparagement for us to be beaten by this sad event. Our disappointments, losses and crosses, should not damp our spirit; but, on the contrary, should act like an incentive for greater effort and keener struggle. If to-day dark and ominous clouds are gathering round the Ali Brothers; if under the cramped and mutilated atmosphere of Bureaucracy they are regarded as the perpetrators of some unknown heinous crime; if the circumscribed and limited angle of vision of a certain class of people cannot comprehend the evolved Brothers, surely the day is not

far-off when the dark clouds will break to give way to a splendid dawning, when the ideas of equality and freedom will occupy the minds of our countrymen, when the Ali Brothers will stand as conspicuous figures, crowned with glory, holding the banner of democracy and liberty.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take.
The clouds of so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings on your head.

ISLAM AND ITS PROSPECTS

MUHAMMAD ALI'S ADDRESS

A well-attended meeting of the Positivist Society was held at Essex Hall, 1913, *at which Mr. Swinny presided. The subject of discussion was the recent events in the Near East and the future of the Moslem world. Mr. Swinny opened the discussion with a reference to the injustice of European diplomacy in its dealing with the Turks, particularly with regard to the reconquest of Adrianople, which, however, he was pleased to see in the hands of the Turks once more through their own efforts.*

Mr. Muhammad Ali, Editor of the "*Comrade*," followed with an address, in the course of which he explained some of the objects of the mission on which he had come to England with Mr. Wazir Hasan. He said they had not neglected to seek opportunities for explaining the Moslem point of view in the first place to the authorities in England, and if their expectations in getting the ears of the ministers were not fully realised before they left England the fault would not be theirs. They had

purposely avoided publication of their views in the Press in order to give no chance to any one to accuse them of coming here to embarrass the authorities, but the subject of that evening's discussion was a very general one, and there was no likelihood of embarrassing anybody at all if they explained the point of view of people whose outlook on life and affair was to some extent different from that of the people in this country. He referred to the nature of the Society which had convened this meeting, and to the common ground of humanity which no differences of ritual or spiritual conceptions could destroy. This led him to express the resentment of Indian Mussalmans on the subject of the atrocities committed in Tripoli and in the Balkans, and to the inaction of the British Foreign Office and, to a great extent, also of the British nation. Referring to arguments about the exigencies of war and the difficulties of diplomacy, he said the Mussalmans were not impressed by them beyond acquiring a greater distaste for war and an increasing distrust of diplomacy. He criticised Sir Edward Grey's disapproval of intervention in Parliament of men like Lord Lamington and the Hon. Walter Guinness,

and invited Sir Edward Grey to undertake a journey to India and overhear in the streets and lanes of Indian cities what Indian Mussalmans thought of his silence, and of the questions of others. Mr. Mohamed Ali stated that whatever discontent there was among the Indian Mohamedans was the result of Sir Edward Grey's own inaction, and not of the parliamentary intervention of men like Lord Lamington and Mr. Guinness. Referring to the Islamic States, he said the Positivists at least would not desire their continued existence or disappearance merely because it would benefit a particular nation or State, but on the larger ground whether it was beneficial for humanity or otherwise; but he pointed out that all were not Positivists, and prejudices of race, nationality and creed every day warped people's judgment. Islam and Moslem States had suffered considerably in recent years on account of such prejudices, and although he had no inclination to preach Islam to the audience, Mr. Mohamed Ali emphatically repudiated the conceptions which were attributed to the Mussalmans by many non-Moslems, such as the conception that Islam is an enemey of progress, is rigid and unprogres-

sive, denies a soul to women, enjoins or even encourages polygamy or slavery or gives to non-Mussalmans the alternative of the Koran or the sword. He asked if it was reasonable, not only to condemn several hundred million people for their religious views, but also to accept the views of people of another religion about them as their own religious views. Not many centuries ago even in England the stake and the rack were used to punish people for holding religious opinions different to those of the majority. All this was supposed to have passed away long ago, but the speaker still believed that even to-day something worse than the stake and the rack were being used to punish, not individuals but whole kingdoms, for holding religious opinions different to those of Western Europe. He referred to the well-organised campaign which was started in Europe against Islam as a creed, a little before the Italian raid on Tripoli, and continued even to this day in order to prejudice the minds of the nations against such Islamic countries as it was proposed to despoil and finally destroy. Whatever military experts may say, the Turk had not yet forgotten how to fight, and the Mussalmans of the world still

knew how to die: but the lesson of the recent losses of Turkey must have been entirely lost on the Moslem world if it had not yet recognised that Albania and Macedonia had been lost and Thrace all but lost to Turkey, not on the Balkan battlefields, but in the offices of newspapers and in committee rooms and on public platforms in Western Europe. It was this which compelled the speaker to explain what relation Islam bore to the politics of Islamic nations. Referring to the lack of understanding of people in Europe about this matter, he said that although among Mussalmans of different countries there were obvious difference of country, race, languages and often of historical associations, it was only in things that were unessential that the Mussalmans of one country were different from the Mussalmans of another, but that everything that was essential was common to them all. Physical contiguity and a common breed had nothing in them peculiar to human beings, for animals acquired a sympathy with each other on these accounts. As regards language, Islam had done this at least that it had given a common script practically to all Moslems of the world, and the

language of the Koran was studied by the educated Mohamedans in every country. But the essential unity of Mussalmans and Moslem countries lay in the very fact which had been distorted by the enemies of Islam into its rigidity and unprogressiveness. It lay in the identity of all those institutions which go to the making of civilised society, such as the laws relating to matrimony and succession and conceptions about sex and relationship by blood, and otherwise. The main principles of Islam were unchanged and unchanging, but they had not prevented Islamic progress in the future. All that they did was to provide for Mussalmans a social polity which gave to Islam its essential unity and its solidarity of sentiment, and on that account a Mussalman in Delhi felt united with a Mussalman in Damascus no less than a Briton in Durham felt united, let us say, with a Briton in Dublin. In a sense, therefore, Islam was not only a creed, but also nationality, and the speaker contended that a nationality based on a unity of social conceptions and institutions was more national and human than a nationality based on ethnological or geographical grounds. Referring to the charge that religion had

wrought misery in the world by its wars Mr. Mohamed Ali said that religion had no fewer interpretations than love, and if they did not cease to love because some loves had wrought misery, was it reasonable to ask them to cease to be religious, because some religious people fought for religion. As for the wars of religion, those of nationality were no fewer nor less devastating, and a Positivist could not find much consolation in a nationalism when he got disgusted with religion. He defended Islam and reminded the audience that, in the first place, if his views were those of a partisan, they were all partisans of their own sets of views and opinions; whether religious or political, and that in the next place, progress demanded variety so that the best may be evolved out of the many.

With regard to Europe's self-satisfaction, he asked them to consider whether they were not mistaking comfort for civilisation. It may be a matter of supreme satisfaction to people in Europe that it is so rich and so powerful, but that was no reason to consider that the rest of the world was a mistake and an impertinence, and they must not accuse Providence of a primeval error of judgment in enjoining

coloured humanity to multiply and fill so large a portion of the earth. This attitude was not a new characteristic, nor confined to Western Europe alone. Self-sufficiency and arrogance of temper had marked every dominant type of civilisation in history. The ancient Egyptian considered his achievemement so perfect that he daily propitiated his gods lest they should grow jealous of him. The Chinaman in his heyday of glory felt that he had realised his heaven on earth. The ancient Greek imposed constitutional checks even on divine prerogative, and vainly imagined that he had reduced such an incommensurable thing as life to a system for all eternity. Rome similarly thought itself to be the last word on civilisation. And yet where were they to-day? If the descendants of the Goths and the Huns and the Vandals follow the example of the ancient civilisations and indulge in a carnival of tall talk and vainglory, it was nothing very strange. The cynic may laugh and the wise may shake their heads, but the vainglorious would have their day and only cease to be when the bubble bursts and the life purpose gathers fresh impulse at a new centre for another cycle of change.

The strange happenings of to-day in the Moslem world must be a great temptation to the pessimist to draw the gloomiest picture of the future of a once world conquering creed, and to give way to that dismal contemplation of what may be, which paralyses the power to determine what should be and shall be. The Mussalmans had begun to cast the horoscope of Islam, but the speaker said he could not undrstand why they should be accused of needlessly distrusting Europe and Christendom, when Europeans and Christians themselves had more than once declared that Europe was at last definitely retaliating on Asia for the alarm into which the Mohamedan arms had thrown the West from the 7th to the end of the 17th century. They had been assured by European writers themselves, that after clearing the Moors from her soil in the South-West at the beginning of 17th century, Europe was now finally rooting out the power of Islam from Northern Africa, and having checked the inrush of the Turks at the end of the 17th century and steadily weakened the Mohamedan grip on South East Europe ever since, she was now battering one branch of Mohamedanism in Persia and another branch in

Turkey, thereby threatening the Moslem Empire in Asia itself with isolation and finally with annihilation. The West, having beaten back the ancient attack of the East, was now carrying on a counter attack into the enemy's quarters. At all points the independent dominion of the Mussalmans was hemmed in and threatened, and the future seemed dark for its continuance in any part of the world. Most assuredly the world-import of these events deserved more than a passing attention; but, said Mr. Mohamed Ali, he was not a pessimist and would not despair. In the middle of the I7th century a well-known Turkish Grand Vizier, Mohamed Kinhrili, had intercepted a letter of the Greek Patriarch to the Vaivode of Wallachia, in which the Patriarch had said :—

"The power of Islam is drawing to an end. The Christian faith will soon be supreme and the Lords of the Cross and the Churchbell will be the lords of the empire."

Between this ancient prophecy of the Greek Patriarch, said the speaker, and the more recent attempt of the Prime Minister of what is the largest Moslem Power, what a strange analogy and a still more strange contrast!

Well, both these prophecies had only partially been fulfilled, but even to-day they had not lost faith in the power of Islam to recuperate its strength, notwithstanding all that had been written against it, and all that had been wrought against it in Africa, Asia and Europe. He based his belief on the nature of Islam's mission in the world, which was to be a mission of rationalism, humanity, and the unity of God. The destiny of Mussalmans was not merely temporal power, and all was not lost because temporal power had slipped from the grip of the Mussalman. However, Islam had never encouraged a lacerating distinction between things temporal and things spiritual. According to the Moslem view a strict adherence to the spiritual precepts of Islam would not only ensure to the pious salvation hereafter, but temporal power in this world also, and viewed in this light the loss of temporal power to-day only betrayed the want of religious piety in the Moslems of the world. Conversely the extension of Islam's spiritual influence, in which he was glad to see signs everywhere, and nowhere more than in India, was certain to bring to the Mussalmans political dominance also. He added that he

hoped he would be forgiven if the Mussalman sometimes distrusted those non-Mussalmans who would like to dispense to him merely a soothing syrup of spirituality, particularly as these dispensers called themselves the disciples of one who said that his was not the Kingdom of this world, and that blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the Kingdom of the earth. For their part Mussalmans were confident of the future because they saw a return of their early spirituality, and given the peace that they needed, and that seventy millions of them enjoyed in India, as Mussalmans in Persia and Turkey and in Africa had no chance of enjoying, the speaker hoped that they would evolve for themselves a future even greater than their past. Far from being disloyal to the British Government, as some autocratic Anglo-Indian officials pretended to believe them to be, they regarded the British connection with India as a dispensation of Providence, for it gave them peace, and introduced new factors in their development and growth which were not shared by their co-religionists abroad. They had a chance of combining the best in the East with the best in the West, and while disbelieving nct a word

of the Koran and abating not a jot of their Islamic extra-territorial fervour, the Indian Mussalmans were determined to take advantage of the facilities which British rule in India provided for their self-improvement. But they were not content with their present share in directing the internal policy of the Government in India, nor with being considered a negligible quantity in the direction of the foreign policy of an Empire which was not an empire of 45,000,000 Britons or 11,000,000 Colonials only, but an Empire of 315,000,000 Indians also, among whom His Majesty had no less than 70,000,000 Mussalmans.

DISTINGUISHED INDIANS IN EDINBURGH

THE FATALISM OF THE EAST AND WEST

In the North British Station Hotel, (1913) *the Edinburgh Islamic Society had as their guest to dinner Mr. Mohamed Ali, editor of the Comrade, Delhi, and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League. A number of Britishers were also amongst the company, which was presided over by Mr. G. M. Khan, M.A., B.Sc, President of the* Society. *The first toasts honoured were those of the King and the Sultan. The Chairman, in proposing "The Guests of the Evening," said their meeting was an occasion, uuique in the annals of the Society, which would always look back upon the visit of* so *distinguished men as Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, for every Indian knew their name, and the position they held in respect to their country. Mr. Mohamed Ali, in acknowledging the toast said :—*

That many of them who had been years away from India would hardly recognise the

position now. Whatever greatness there was in his brother-guest and himself was due, not to themselves, but to the death of great ones and to the dearth of great ones. Since they had come to England, they had, unfortunately not found any evidence that the people in England understood the position in India, and the hopes and aspirations of its people. They had been told that their backwardness was due to fatalism, that they believed in predestination. Well he need not apologise for the doctrine of predestination in Scotland—(laughter)—but inspite of that predestination Scotland had worked out her own destiny in her own way. The Moslems had realised their destiny in the past in spite of the doctrines of fatalism and predestination. Fatalism after all only recognised that there was a destiny "which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may." (Applause). But a new kind of fatalism was preached to them, and preached from the scientific West. And instead of considering a law of immigration and a £3 poll-tax in Natal, they had much greater things to consider. It was imagined that in the darker races there was something inferior, that God had given them not only skins of

darker hue, but also a darkness that was moral as well as physical, and that inferior races should never come into contact and competition with the people of the West. But it was only by competition that progress could come, for if each remained in their own little sphere, what chance could there be of progress? It would appear that if the darker races must for ever be looked upon in this way the fatalism of the West was worse than the fatalism of the East. (Applause). He wished his view could reach that great public beyond the room in which they now were, and that the people of Britain could realise what was the import of the struggles of not only the Moslems of India, but of the people throughout the Eastern world. He believed that the struggle would go on, and he hoped and prayed that guidance would come to the Imperial Government and to the English people, so that they would realise the responsibilities which rested upon them.

INDIA'S LACKING FACTORS

In a reference to the Cawnpore incident the speaker paid a compliment to the wisdom and the courage of Lord Hardinge, and he proceeded to say that those of them who had been

in India knew that there was there a deity of prestige, which was really nothing more than personal vanity seeking refuge under the larger name of patriotism. And if by such means victories were gained against the people, then it was a victory which in the end was the worst defeat. In democratic England, and particularly in democratic Scotland it was not possible to go on contending with the people. In this country the people's wishes were made known by the Press and from the platform, and if Britain was to preserve her own race instincts it was impossible for Britain to rule by despotism. There had been factors wanting in the development of the East and it was miraculous that those factors should have come, not across the Himalayas, but from a little island 7000 miles away and patriot and nationalist as he was he would say this, that if by the pressing of button he could send every Englishman and for it was Celtic government in India—(laughter)—every Scotsman and every Irishman back to those islands, he would rather cut off his right hand than press that button. But, to quote the words of a great Liberal statesman, good government could never be a substitute for self-government.

(Applause.) No man cared to put his judgment absolutely under the control of anybody else. Many young men were sent to India and put there in charge of a wide district, and very seldom came into contact with the people, or endeavoured to learn what was passing in the hearts of the people. In short, the official in India did not try to lift the brain cap of the East. In view of this, what were the Indians to do? Were they to allow grievances to mount up until they culminated in assassinations and riots or were they to follow British lines and criticise the policy on the platform and in the Press? He believed their duty was to warn the Government of these things and point the remedy, but the Press was not given freedom, nor could they speak in public of their grievances. Under the sedition laws almost anything spoken or written could be brought under the law. On the British Government and the British people there depended the happiness or unhappiness of one-fifth of the whole human race, and it was not a small trust.

MOSLEMS IN LONDON

MESSRS. WAZIR HASAN AND MOHAMED ALI'S FAREWELL LUNCHEON

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, who are sailing for India on December 5, 1913, *entertained a large company of friends at luncheon at the Waldrof Hotel* (*November* 27, 1913). *At the request of the hosts, Sir Henry Cotton presided, when Mr. Mohamed Ali, who was greeted with cheers, said*:—

That he and his colleague were very grateful for the kindness which had been extended to them during their visit. On a previous occasion when in England he learnt how much untruth was embodied in Kipling's lines, "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," and the impressions he then gained had been fully confirmed by his experience of the last few weeks. Speaking of his mission, he said that, though they had met with many disappointments, they did not despair. They had found a great deal of ignorance prevalent regarding India, but they

9

had also realised that much of it had in recent years been dispelled, and he would suggest to those of his hearers who might be authors that, if they found they could not always get sufficient inspiration out of the threadbare themes of the West, there were vast worlds in the East from which they could gather fresh inspiration. There was a good deal of virgin soil which novelists could till, but which journalists who were always in a hurry could only scratch. It was to the author he looked for the dissemination of information with regard to Eastern problems. It had always been a matter of wonder to him how the forty-five millions of people who inhabited Great Britain could be so oblivious of the fact that they had a big moral trust in connexion with the hundreds of millions who inhabited their Eastern Empire. Western people had lately been telling them that practically a ban had been put on the larger part of creation—a sinister ban of colour—a ban which was to make the Asiatic an inferior being—they seemed to forget that Jesus Christ was an Asiatic, and that they had got almost all their civilization from the East. The people of India had had Western education and Western ideas

forced upon them; as a result they had learned self-respect, they had come to realise the dignity of their race, and they had come to know, too, that they must live their own life and work out their own destiny. They did not believe that providence would be so unjust as to place a ban upon the larger half of humanity. If they felt dissatisfied with the present condition of things, was it to be said that they were consequently disloyal? Had they wanted to light the fiery cross, they could have done it much better in their own country than by coming to England. Had they wanted to embarrass the Government, they would not have made their speeches on public platforms; they would have worked underground. He wished to utter one word of warning, and that was, if they did not take care of their large Empire in India, if they were not true to the great trust which Providence had placed in their hands, they would run serious risk of losing India. In his opinion, the British connexion was indispensable for India's growth and progress. He was loyal to His Majesty, not because he was a British-born subject, but because he believed the British connexion meant the uplifting of his country,

of his race, and of his religion. For these objects it was necessary that the British should be in India. He and his colleague came to this country to lay their case before the British public. In the first instance, it was their desire to see the Ministers and to whisper into their ears the matters which it was sought to impress upon the Government. But they had not been able to see the Ministers they desired to meet. They would return and try again. When he was in Edinburgh the other day he was shown seven gates at Edinburgh Castle in close proximity to one another, which an enemy seeking entrance had to pass in turn. He could only say that if there were seventy gates preventing their access to British Ministers they intended to knock and knock again at each until they were opened. And although on this occasion they had not been able to reach the ear of Lord Crewe, they had, at any rate, succeeded in reaching the ears of those who ruled Lord Crewe, of those who were his masters, of those who had a vote to give. When they got back to their own country they would not wish to excite their fellow-countrymen by telling them how they had been compelled to return with-

out seeing Ministers, but they would, at any rate, feel confident that, if Ministers would not see them, they would, at any rate, have to hear them, both in this country and in India.—*India*.

THE OBJECTS OF THE MISSION

Mr. Mohamed Ali explained that the mission of the delegates was to bring certain Indian points of view to the notice of England. This country had a great deal to learn about India, though he cordially acknowledged that there were very many anxious to do justice to India provided they knew how. He appealed for the help not only of politicians, but of journalists and of authors, and to the last especially he pointed out what a field for their labours India offered.

There were people who would put a ban on the larger half of God's creatures—the ban of colour. Against this feeling he warmly protested. "You may be contented with this state of things," he said, "but we are not. By the education you have given us and which we at first rejected we have learnt the dignity of our race. We are a self-respecting people, and we believe Providence would never have placed a ban on us." They felt dissatisfied (he con-

tinued) with certain workings of the system in India, and had come to put their aspirations before the people of this country. In this were they to be considered disloyal ?

If they had wanted to raise the fiery cross they would have done so in their own country. There were a thousand ways of working underground in India. By the very life he led the European in India was not likely to know a thousandth part of what went on in India. He did not wish to threaten, but he begged Englishmen to be loyal to their trust which had been so extraordinarily beneficial to India and which Indians wished to maintain as being necessary to their Government and progress. They did not want to embarrass the Government. What had been their compensation ? The Secretary for India had been described as "a somewhat inaudible Minister" was one also to call him a somewhat "invisible" Minister ? At any rate they had not been able to see him. However, they would go on knocking at the door. If there were seventy gates they would go on knocking at them all. If the mountain would not come to Mahomet he must go to the mountain. In India this country had put great power into

the hands of a small body—very conscientious and upright, but when so much power was in the hands of a few the danger was of its crystallising into a caste-feeling. It was a great service but not infallible. Speaking again of the results of the mission, Mr. Ali said he could not go back and tell the exact truth. Truth could not always be proclaimed from the housetops. But they were not going to whisper any untruth. "We are not likely," he said, "to excite people further, but in spite of having come to Ministers and going back without seeing them, they will hear from us again and they will have to hear us in India."
—The *Manchester Guardian.*

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